

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 TAIPEI 05223 250928Z

ACTION EA-12

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FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

TO USDEL SECRETARY PEKING IMMEDIATE

INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 4766

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

SECRET TAIPEI 5223

USDEL USLO PEKING FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE FROM AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CH, TW

SUBJECT: HOLBROOKE MEETING WITH ROC LEADERS

1. IN TAIPEI I WOULD EXPECT THAT YOUR CHINESE HOSTS WILL
IN THE FIRST INSTANCE EXPRESS WHAT IS THEIR SINCERE APPRE-
CIATION THAT A HIGH-LEVEL US OFFICIAL WHO HAS PARTICIPATED
IN THE PEKING DISCUSSIONS HAS COME HERE EXPRESSLY TO GIVE
THEM A REPORT ON WHAT TRANSPRIRED THERE.

2. AT THE SAME TIME, I DOUBT YOU WILL FIND THEM
READY TO ACCEPT THE INEVITABILITY OF A RUPTURE IN DIPLOMATIC
RELATIONS WITH THE ROC AND AN END TO THE SECURITY TREATY.
I BELIEVE THAT THEY WILL ASSUME, HOWEVER FAVORABLE THE OUT-
COME OF THE PEKING TALKS FOR NORMALIZATION, A PRESIDENTIAL
DECISION WILL STILL HAVE TO BE MADE AFTER SECRETARY VANCE
REPORTS TO PRESIDENT CARTER AND THEY, THEREFORE, WILL
CONTINUE TO CONSIDER THE MATTER OPEN FOR DECISION.

3. WITH THIS IN MIND, I DONT BELIEVE YOU WILL FIND THEM
READY TO TALK AT ALL ABOUT HOW NORMALIZATION CAN BE
CARRIED OUT EFFECTIVELY, INCLUDING WHAT NEEDS TO BE
DONE HERE TO MAKE IT WORK RIGHT. IN OUR CONVERSATIONS

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HERE WE HAVE TRIED TO DRAW OFFICIALS WHOM WE REGARD AS AMONG
THE MORE SUSCEPTIBLE INTO SUCH DISCUSSION BUT WE HAVE BEEN
LARGELY STONEWALLED AS A RESULT OF WHAT WE TAKE TO BE A PARTY
LINE HANDED OUT FROM TOP.

4. BELIEVING THAT THE US GOVERNMENT HAS NOT TAKEN A DECISION
ON NORMALIZATION, THE ROC CONTINUES TO BE DETERMINED TO

RALLY ALL POSSIBLE SUPPORT IN THE UNITED STATES AND ELSE WHERE TO PUT OFF NORMALIZATION AS LONG AS POSSIBLE. THEY APPEAR TO FEEL GENERALLY ENCOURAGED WITH THE SUCCESS OF THEIR EFFORTS THUS FAR AND THEY WILL NOT BE PREPARED OPENLY TO TURN TO THE DISTASTEFUL ALTERNATIVE UNTIL THEY ARE PERSUADED THAT THEY HAVE LOST THE GAME NOT ONLY WITH THE US EXECUTIVE BRANCH BUT ALSO WITH THE CONGRESS AND THE PUBLIC.

5. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES IT SEEMS TO ME THE MOST FRUITFUL LINE FOR YOU TO TAKE WITH THE PREMIER WOULD BE TO MAKE IT CLEAR (IF POSSIBLE WITH NEW EVIDENCE DERIVED FROM VISIT) THAT WE WILL BE GOING AHEAD WITH NORMALIZATION AND THAT SOONER OR LATER IT WILL BE CARRIED THROUGH TO CONCLUSION. RECOMMEND YOU THEN SAY THAT WE ARE VERY ANXIOUS TO BE SURE THAT ALL THE PRACTICAL RELATIONS, SO IMPORTANT TO THE SECURITY AND PROSPERITY OF TAIWAN, CONTINUE IN WHATEVER FORM WITHOUT INTERRUPTION. THIS IS OBVIOUSLY AN OBJECTIVE AS IMPORTANT TO GOVERNMENT LEADERS HERE AS IT IS TO THE UNITED STATES. IT IS VITAL TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THIS GOAL THAT WE BE ABLE TO SORT OUT THE PROBLEMS WHICH NORMALIZATION PRESENTS AND WORK OUT SATISFACTORY SOLUTIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT HERE, SERVING OUR COMMON INTERESTS. WITH THIS IN MIND IT WOULD BE VERY DESIRABLE IF THAT PROCESS OF CONSULTATION COULD START SOON.

6. OBVIOUSLY WHAT I HAVE SAID ABOVE RESTS ON CERTAIN ASSUMPTIONS
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TIONS ABOUT WHAT HAS TAKEN PLACE IN PEKING. YOU WILL BE THE BEST JUDGE OF HOW SUITABLE OR NOT MY RECOMMENDATIONS ARE IN THE LIGHT OF THAT.
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